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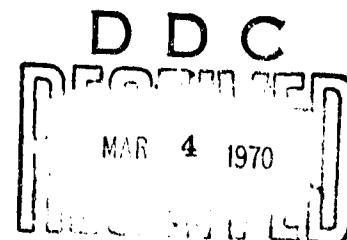THE USE OF REWARDS IN MOTIVATING

MARGINAL MEMBERS OF THE WORK FORCE

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The Use of Rewards in Motivating
Marginal Members of the Work Force

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1. Introduction

A. Aim and Scope of the paper

Recent social developments in this country have focused increasing attention on marginal members of the employed work force. These are individuals who in the past have not held positions of employment on any regular basis, yet who are presumed to be capable of developing into at least minimally adequate work performers. (A more complete definition will be given later in this section.) In order for such individuals to become "minimally adequate performers," effort on the part of government, work organizations, and individuals will be required on a number of fronts: recruitment, skill training, and motivation. The present paper is limited to a consideration of the latter aspect of the situation: on-the-job motivation. More specifically, the paper will concentrate on the application of rewards in this context.[1]

This paper does not constitute a review of the literature, as such, on this topic. Rather, the paper is designed to utilize existing literature (both primary and secondary sources) in general psychology, social psychology, and organizational psychology to develop some potentially applicable approaches to the use of rewards in connection with the motivation of marginal work force members. Such issues as the cost, feasibility, difficulties, and so forth, of these ideas are purposely relegated to secondary importance in this paper -- the primary aim is to highlight and stress what is possible, from a psychological poi. of view.

The main parts of the paper (Sections II and III) consider types of possible
rewards, and methods of administration of the rewards. These two parts are
preceded by this introduction (including a set of brief definitions of terms) and
are followed by a section on Conclusions. The section on Conclusions contains:
(1) Propositions; (2) Organizational Policy Proposals: and (3) Research Proposals.

B. Definitions of terms

The remainder of this paper will involve the consistent use of several
terms, including: "marginal worker," "motivating," and "rewards" It is there-
fore useful to provide a definition of these terms as they are used in the paper.

"Marginal Worker": For the purposes of this paper, a marginal worker (MW)
will be defined as an individual who in the past has failed to demonstrate con-
sistent work attendance and/or has failed to meet organizationally defined
standards or levels of adequate performance. Thus, in this definition there are
two distinct aspects of marginality: attendance and performance. For an indivi-
dual to be considered non-marginal, he must meet both criteria. If he meets one,
but not the other, he will be considered in the "marginal" category. By this
definition, the term marginal worker is taken as somewhat broader than the term
"hard-core unemployed." The latter usually implies that the person has a record
of little, if any, steady employment, thereby stressing the attendance aspect.
Under our use of "marginal worker," we would include not only the hard-core
unemployed, but also those who may have had relatively steady employment but who
are rather chronically on the borderline or below of "adequate performance" as
defined by the organization. Obviously, if the marginal worker is consistently
and decisively below the "adequate" threshold for any extended period of time he
will be separated by the organization and will become unemployed. If the same
pattern of behavior develops in succeeding organizations that might be induced to
hire him, he would become a member of the hard-core unemployed

Nevertheless, it is useful to keep in mind that there are some individuals who can manage to stay employed more-or-less consistently but who are so close to the performance threshold that they must be classified as MWs.

The definition adopted for MW also serves to stress that there are two distinct aspects of marginality that must be considered in any discussion of the effects of rewards on motivation: attendance and performance. While there are some rewards and reward situations that can be assumed to affect both types of behavior, there are other rewards and methods of administering rewards that may have an effect on one but not the other. In other words, any discussion of the use of rewards must take account of the fact that these two aspects of performance are frequently not highly correlated with each other (March and Simon, 1958, p.92).

"Motivating": In this paper the term "motivating" will be defined as bringing about the desire on the part of the individual to meet organizational requirements for attendance (i.e., non-turnover and low absenteeism and tardiness) and performance (e.g., output). The definition implies that a "motivated" individual in a work context is one who exerts effort -- mental and physical -- to be in attendance regularly and to perform at an adequate level of output.

"Rewards": Following from the above definition, rewards are defined as positively valued (or desired) goal objects. Such goal objects or events are considered "reinforcing" to the extent that they increase the frequency of the responses they follow. Whether rewards in fact serve as reinforcers depends upon the manner in which they are administered as well as the strength with which they are desired. This potentially "reinforcing" aspect of rewards will be a major focus of later discussion in this paper.

II. Types and sources of Possible Rewards

A major thesis of this paper is that the methods of administering rewards deserve as much or more attention than do the types of rewards that can be offered,

if one is considering the motivation of marginal workers. Nevertheless, before the question of administration of rewards can be discussed, it is necessary to specify the types of rewards that are possible and also indicate the major sources of these rewards.

In this section it is assumed that many of the statements that are applicable to MWs are frequently nearly as applicable to non-MWs. That is, an enumeration of possible rewards for MWs is, at the same time, an equally applicable list for the ordinary, non-marginal worker. What is probably not equal for these two broad categories of individuals is the relative desirability that a specific reward (e.g., a steady wage of a certain amount) has for the typical member of one category versus the other. Thus, the importance of a given reward for motivating a MW vs. a non-MW is probably not equal. Unfortunately, at this time the available literature provides very little help in specifying such differential motivational weights for different rewards insofar as worker marginality is concerned.

A simple scheme for listing or enumerating rewards, classifying them by type and by source, is given in the accompanying chart (Figure 1). Brief speculative attention will be given to the probable role of the 10 listed rewards in motivating the MW. (For a more definitive discussion of some of these rewards, see Vroom, 1964).

(1) Financial: <u>Wages</u>. A recent article by Opsahl and Dunnette (1966) provides an extensive review of the basic literature concerning the role of financial compensation in industrial motivation. In concluding their review these authors state that "although it is generally agreed that money is the major mechanism for rewarding and modifying behavior in industry, we have seen that very little is known about how it works." They further point out that "the principal research problem is to discover in what way money motivates employees and how this, in turn, affects their behavior." In a statement particularly

FIGURE 1

Types and Sources of Possible Rewards in Work Situations

Type	Organization	Supervisor	Work Group	Individual
I. Financial				
1) Wages	X			
2) Fringe Benefits	X			
II. Interpersonal				
3) Status	X	X	X	
4) Recognition (Praise)	X	X	X	
5) Friendship		X	X	
III. Intrinsic to Work				
6) Completion	(X)	(X)		X
7) Achievement	(X)	(X)		X
8) Energy expenditure	(X)	(X)		X
IV. Developmental				
9) Skill acquisition (Competence)	(X)	(X)		X
10) Personal growth	(X)	(X)		X

(Note: column header row reads "Type ... Source" with sub-columns Organization, Supervisor, Work Group, Individual)

Key: X = direct source
      (X) = indirect source

applicable to the question of the motivation of MWs, they stress that "money's incentive character, to be fully understood, must also take account of the perceptions of money by the recipient."

Since money typically can be used as a means to satisfy many needs, particularly those associated with (but not limited to) basic necessities of life, wages would seem to be an obvious and potentially powerful reward in motivating the MW. However, it would appear that several conditions would need to exist before the MW would see a given wage as a motivator. First, it would have to exceed the amount of money he can currently gain from other sources (e.g., welfare, gifts, non-legitimate "work" activities, etc.). Second, he presumably would have to see some connection between an action on his part (e.g., coming to work on a regular basis) and the attainment of the wages. The less precise and more nebulous this connection (such as by providing wages even when attendance or promptness is irregular, or separating the payment in time from the behavior) the weaker the effect on the motivation. MWs, in particular, would seem to be -- because of their current environment and past experiences -- quite prone to not seeing connections between their own behavior and the attainment of wages. Finally, money must have some value for the individual. To the extent that the individual feels that he will not be able to use money to obtain other things that he wants, he is not likely to be motivated by wages. Again, this may be the case for some MWs in some circumstances (e.g., where they desire to obtain certain kinds of interpersonal responses from others that have little if anything to do with the amount of money earned).

(2) Financial: Fringe Benefits. Although fringe benefits are not exclusively financial (as, for example, the provision of company-sponsored athletic teams), they tend to have a strong financial component and are listed under this category. As with wages, the source of fringe benefits is the formal organization.

Perhaps the major fringe benefit in most organizations is the company-financed (often including contributions from the employee) pension or retirement plan. For the typical middle class employed worker, the opportunity to participate in this plan (by continuing employment with the organization) is likely to be a key factor in organizational attendance. For the MW, however, the reward -- income during retirement -- is so far distant from current behavior, it is unlikely to have much impact. The same element -- distance in time -- applies to other fringe benefits such as vacations and hospitalization, though to a lesser extent.

A further aspect of fringe benefits that must be considered in motivating either MWs or non-MWs is the fact that the benefits (particularly at lower levels of the organization) are seldom contingent upon the quantity or quality of performance. Instead, they are based on seniority or continued attendance. Thus, at best, they could contribute to the solution of only one part of the marginality problem.

(3) Interpersonal: <u>Social Status</u>. The social status of a MW can be thought of in two senses: his status in the employing organization and his status off the job. His status in the organization can stem from formal organization actions, from actions from his immediate supervisor, and from actions and reactions from his fellow workers. His status off the job will often be a function of the on-the-job status, but there is no necessary correlation between the two (e.g., as when a newly-employed MW receives some modicum of status in the new work situation but is scorned by some of his off-the-job companions who themselves are not employed).

The organization has some, but still limited, power to administer the reward of status. By its actions in assigning individuals to jobs the organization can attempt to confer a formal type of status on the individual. If other workers, however, do not believe the individual merits a particular position, it is not likely that the individual will receive social cues that he has status. Therefore, he is not likely to see such an organizational action as rewarding. For many, if

not most MWs, it is unlikely that the organization will be able to assign high status positions until the person is well along in the organization in both job tenure and performance and hence out of the MW category.

The supervisor and work group, separately or together, of course, have the power to confer status upon the individual even if the organization does not or cannot. Again, however, in many job situations the supervisor and/or the work group peers (of non-MWs) will not confer status until it is earned. This may take quite some time for the initially marginal employee, and long before he has earned it he will have departed the scene.

As noted above, even if the MW achieves some minimal status within his work organization, his status outside the organization may continue to be low. To the extent that he associates with others who de-value regular employment, he is likely to be accorded low status off the job. Thus organizational and supervisory efforts in this area of rewards are frequently attenuated by outside influences essentially beyond their control.

(4) Interpersonal: Recognition. Much of what was said above for status applies to this type of reward, since the two are often linked together in practice. Recognition, as used here, refers to the explicit acknowledgement of achievement that may or may not result in a change in social status. Such recognition can come from the formal organization, from the supervisor, or from the work group. (The term, as we use it, includes praise and expressions of approval.)

The extent to which recognition is motivating depends, as do other rewards, on its perceived value and on the connection the individual sees between it and behavior on his part. Frequently in work situations, recognition from one source is accompanied by disinterest or disdain from other sources and hence the total value for the individual is often less than is realized by those who give recognition. In the case of MWs, attempts by the organization or the supervisor

to confer recognition might be expected to be undercut by the actions and ex-
pressed attitudes of non-MW peers if they feel there is any unwarranted aspect
of the recognition.

In the past, it would appear probable that MWs have received little if any
explicit recognition from either organizations or peers, in their abortive
attempts to enter and stay in the work force. The reason, of course, is that in
most instances they very early failed to meet organizational standards of
attendance and performance, and therefore the organization (including the
immediate supervisor) did not find it possible or appropriate to give recognition.
(This point will become particularly important in the section on Methods of
Administration of Rewards when we discuss "shaping" and "successive approximations.")

(5) Interpersonal: Friendship. There are two particular features of this
reward that should be noted, namely, the fact that the organization per se has a
relatively small role (except in an indirect sense) in providing it, and the fact
that its reinforcing effects are confined almost exclusively to the attendance
rather than the performance aspect of work behavior.

For the MW, the major question is whether he can obtain more of this reward
by entering and staying with a job or by staying out of the work force. Presumably,
at his initial entrance into an organization from his non-work environment he will
suffer something of a decrease in this reward. The degree to which he can, in the
job situation, equal or exceed the amount of the reward he was previously obtain-
ing, will in large part depend upon the efforts of the immediate supervisor and
members of the immediate work group. Often, it will take the new organization
member (whether MW or non-MW) some time to learn whether and to what extent
others feel friendly toward him. Furthermore, the cues may be indistinct and
indirect. These factors would seem to make this a relatively weak reward in the

early phases of an MW's affiliation with an organization unless some quite explicit indications of friendship are provided.

(6) Work Intrinsic: <u>Completion</u>. There is considerable evidence that many individuals will make strong efforts to complete tasks that they have begun and that the act of completion provides a rather strong reinforcing experience. Obviously, this is a reward that the individual supplies to himself (is self-administered) -- even though others may believe and communicate that an individual has completed a task, the sense of completion involves internalized feelings. The organization and the supervisor can play a major role in facilitating this reward, however, by creating the conditions wherein it is reasonably probable that the individual will indeed be able to experience a sense of completion.

MWs, at least initially, may have relatively weakly developed drives to complete tasks. It is reasonable to assume that their past experiences have tended to deprive them of many opportunities to experience the feeling of completion that would be typical in the pre-work history of the non-MW. In other words, if they have not actually followed through on may tasks to the point of completion, they are unlikely to have been reinforced very often in this respect. Hence, in dealing with MWs, organizations, especially in the person of the immediate supervisor, should be careful not to assume that the MW will exert any extra effort in order to carry through a task to the completion point.

(7) Work Intrinsic: <u>Achievement</u>. This is a self-administered reward that is similar to completion, but is defined as being somewhat broader -- namely, the feeling associated with goal attainment of a particular character -- i.e., attaining or reaching a difficult or meritorious goal.

The extensive work of McClelland (1961) and his colleagues would seem to show that there is considerable variation in the extent to which individuals

will strive for achievement. This indicates that experiences associated with attainment of difficult goals are quite rewarding for some workers but not others. McClelland's work also indicates, however, that certain types of training apparently can increase an individual's achievement motivation (or desire).

The above characteristics of the reward of a sense of achievement would seem to have some obvious implications in motivating the MW: Because of past experiences, a high percentage of MWs are likely to enter the work force with relatively little desire for achievement. Thus, the offering of difficult or tough goals to them early in their work career is likely to have very little impact. Later on in the work experience, it is possible that achievement opportunities will be perceived as more rewarding. (As was the case with several previously mentioned rewards, the concept of "shaping" to be discussed in the next section is quite relevant here.)

(8) Work Intrinsic: Energy Expenditure. Although the expenditure of energy is often regarded as dissatisfying rather than satisfying, there is, as Vroom (1964) points out, evidence to indicate that the opportunity to expend energy (presumably in reasonable amounts) is often seen as rewarding (e.g., Friedmann & Havinghurst, 1954; Morse & Weiss, 1955). That is, activity is often preferred to inactivity.

In considering this as a possible reward for MWs, one must be careful not to assume that because MWs have shown relatively weak desires for steady, adequately performed work that they necessarily must regard energy expenditure as inherently distasteful. That is, the observation that an individual seldom works, or seldom performs adequately when he does work, is not sufficient evidence to determine that he does not like to expend energy. The reasons, instead, may lie in the previous pattern of reinforcements and non-reinforcements the person has received for

expending energy. The MW, in all probability, has received little if any reinforcement for merely being active. Quite the contrary, he probably has had reinforcement withdrawal if that was the only thing that he was doing. Thus, he may have learned that in order to enjoy expending energy for its own sake one must do it off the job rather than on it.

From a positive point of view, the rewarding experience from expending energy is not something that the organization or the supervisor can guarantee. All that they can do is set up the conditions such that an individual has an opportunity to expend a reasonable amount of energy on his job. Whether the spending of the energy is then rewarding depends upon how the individual experiences it. Presumably, however, jobs that are designed at the extreme ends of the continuum -- offering very little opportunity to expend energy or requiring that very large amounts be expended -- are less likely to yield rewarding experiences than jobs that offer moderate opportunities for energy expenditure.

(9) Developmental: Skill acquisition. The opportunity to increase one's skills is a reward that is often offered to the average or better-than-average member of the work force. It is probably infrequently offered to the MW, other than the training necessary to place him in his initial job. Yet, if the amount and spacing (timing) of this reward were adjusted to the MW's gradually developing work behavior and expectations, it might become an influential reinforcer. At the present time, research knowledge concerning the use of skill acquisition as an incentive is largely lacking.

(10) Developmental: Personal Growth. Skill acquisition refers to specific competences, but another reward of the developmental type can be thought of as the opportunity for personal growth in the larger sense. Here again, the experience of personal growth is an individual one, and can-

not be conferred by the organization or supervisor. But, just as in
several of the preceding rewards, organizations and supervisors have an
important role to play by the way in which they enlarge (or decrease)
opportunities to experience this feeling. Where these opportunities are
present and the individual experiences the sense of growth, the results
may be beneficial to both attendance and performance. The difficulty
with respect to the MW is that he may find it much more difficult to
experience such feelings in situations that might normally elicit them in
the average non-MW due to the fact that he has for so long not seen the work
situation as in any way connected with his own self development. Thus, for
opportunities for personal growth to be rewarding for the MW, it is likely
that the organization (supervisor and others) will need to help the indivi-
dual to see himself as capable of growth (such a view being long since
extinguished in many MW individuals), and the work situation as capable of
providing explicit opportunities.

III. Methods of Administration of Rewards

The preceding section has discussed the range of rewards that are
possible in most work situations, with particular focus on their presumed
applicability to the MW. In this section, attention shifts to the question
of how to administer these rewards. As we have indicated previously, how
rewards are in fact administered and dispensed is often as crucial as their
overall size or amount. Insofar as MWs are concerned, administration
aspects may be especially critical because the typical MW often poses a
more severe motivational "problem" from the point of view of the employing
organization.

In this section, three major approaches to, or facets of, reward administration will be reviewed. These are: (1) operant conditioning; (2) modeling and social imitation; and (3) expectancy theory. While each of these three approaches will be discussed separately, it is well to keep in mind that each of them has certain ties to the other two approaches. We shall point out some of these interrelationships as we proceed, but no attempt will be made to supply an exhaustive cataloguing of such relationships.

A. Operant Conditioning

The basic features of operant conditioning stemming from the work of Skinner and many others are probably too well known to need any elaboration here. The aim, instead, will be to show how some of the methods of operant conditioning might well be utilized -- albeit in modified form -- by the organization to enable the MW to develop and use the full set of his capabilities.

The basic process in operant conditioning that is involved in bringing about the acquisition of desired behavior is shaping -- i.e., the selective or differential reinforcement of already existing responses in the individual's repretoire. Essentially, shaping involves rewarding the individual in such a manner that he makes successive approximations toward the desired behavior. This comes about by initially rewarding almost any response -- thereby increasing the general response activity of the individual -- and then progresses by requiring certain approximations of the end behavior to be exhibited before reward is given. Thus, the criterion becomes "tougher and tougher" in that the individual is held to successively closer approximations to the designated "correct" behavior in orde· to obtain reward.

In considering the situation involving MWs, it is probably safe to assume that in the past many organizations and supervisors have followed just the opposite policy from what would be implied by a shaping or successive approximations approach. That is, newly-hired employees were given relatively short time spans to produce the exactly desired behavior. Very little reward was given in the absence of the exact required behavior (i.e., consistent attendance and performance at or above some standard), whereas full reward was given if the exact required behavior happened to be exhibited. Given the typical background of many MWs, it is highly unlikely that they can produce the required behavior in the time required for the average new non-MW employee to reach a satisfactory level of performance and under the working conditions ordinarily present. Thus, many a MW will never (or virtually never) receive any rewards because they fail to exhibit the attendance and performance behavior the organization considers necessary. And, failure to receive any reinforcement is likely to drive the MW back to his non-work status and confirm his learned belief that the work situation offers nothing for him.

Occasionally, in their desire to be of assistance to MWs -- especially where such assistance is seen as part of community or social service -- some supervisors and organizations will adopt an opposite policy. This policy, which is just as non-shaping as the one described above, involves the unconditional reinforcement of all behavior. That is, the MW is continually rewarded for behavior that is quite divergent from the desired end responses as well as being rewarded for behavior that might approximate the desired. The problem with unconditional reinforcement is that discriminations between

acceptable and unacceptable behavior are seldom or never learned. Thus, being completely supportive in response to any and all behavior by the MW is unlikely to be helpful in advancing him into the non-MW category.

From a positive point of view, we are suggesting that careful attention to the principles of shaping by "significant others" with whom the MW comes into contact may be a powerful way to help the individual transform his actions into those which are considered normally acceptable employment behavior. It is important to stress here that such "shaping" is equally applicable to both the attendance and the performance aspects of the MW's behavior. For example, with reference to attendance, rewards initially could be given for simply showing up for work whether or not tardiness or some degree of previous absenteeism is associated with it; as time goes on and as the MW has had the opportunity to experience _some_ rewards, the basis for their being dispensed could shift more and more to a criterion of regular attendance with minimal tardiness. Clearly, yet to be worked out -- with MW populations -- is the question of the appropriate rates of change in shifting reward contingency to closer and closer approximations of the final desired behavior. Also, unspecified in the principle of shaping is the designation of _which_ rewards will or can be used to accomplish shaping. We would suggest that wage payment, recognition and approval, and completion opportunities would be among the most appropriate rewards because they can be dispensed relatively quickly and often.

While shaping is a useful operant conditioning method of aiding an individual to _acquire_ or learn some kind of desired behavior, other methods or principles need to be employed in helping the individual to _maintain_ desired patterns of behavior. These involve the _scheduling_ of reinforcements or rewards. Such schedules are of five basic types: continuous reinforcement

(for every correct response or set of desired behaviors), fixed-ratio
(the reinforcement of every nth response), fixed-interval (reinforcement
after regularly specified periods of time), variable-ratio (the ratio of
reinforcements varies around some mean value) and variable-interval
(reinforcements are given at time intervals that vary around some mean
value).

Each of the above mentioned schedules has been shown (see Reynolds, 1968;
and Bandura & Walters, 1963) -- in laboratory-type situations -- to produce
different rates of responding and different resistances of the responses to
extinction. Such evidence is far too detailed to review here. Suffice it
to say that even for non-MWs, work organizations have not really adequately
explored the possible consequences of different types of reinforcement and
reward schedules. This fact is stressed by Opsahl & Dunnette (1966) in
their review of the literature on financial compensation. As they point out,
industry tends to utilize wage rewards on a fixed interval schedule, yet
this schedule "leads to notoriously poor performance in lower organisms."
They also go on to note that organizations may benefit most from employing
combinations of schedules -- such as a mixed ratio-interval schedule --
rather than using only one type of schedule.

As just one illustration of the possibilities in manipulating reward
schedules, one can conceive of paying MWs with wages at the end of each day,
for at least the first several weeks or months on the job. Such an interval
would be considered cumbersome and unnecessary for use with the average non-MW,
but it might very well be a useful method with specialized MW populations.
Another possible experiment with reinforcement schedules might be to pay
the MW a specific bonus for regularity of attendance (e.g., a bonus at the

end of the week for appearing for work on at least four out of the five
days that week, or a bonus -- on a fixed ratio schedule -- for every nth
day of attendance). While these examples involve the reward of wages, there
is no necessary reason to confine thinking about reinforcement schedules
only to this reward. It does seem apparent, though, that reinforcement
schedules make the most sense for those kinds of rewards that can be made
precisely and quickly contingent upon certain kinds of behavior.

There are other aspects of operant conditioning that could well be
investigated for their usefulness in helping develop strong motivation on
the part of the MW. These would include the process of counter-conditioning
to reduce fears or anxieties to specific aspects of the work situation,
procedures of extinction to reduce or eliminate undesired behaviors, and
discrimination learning to assist in the acquisition of skill competence.
In short, operant techniques offer a fertile field for both research and
application in the work setting.

B. Modeling - Social Imitation

A second approach to modifying behavior through the use of rewards
involves modeling or social imitation. This involves the target person
(i.e., the MW in this case) observing the actions of another person (i.e.,
the "model"), and, particularly, observing the consequences that the other
person receives from the environment as the result of his behavior. The
modeling or social imitation approach is succinctly described in Bandura
and Walters (1963), and the details of it can be gained from their book.

As Bandura and Walters point out, the key feature of modeling from the
point of view of motivation is the vicarious reinforcement that the indivi-
dual receives by observing the actions of the model. In other words, what
happens to the model is "not lost" on the observer. Thus, if we are

interested in developing positive work motivation on the part of the MW, the "models" would have to be observed receiving reinforcements that the MW considers highly desirable.

Three somewhat different effects are presumed to be possible when this approach to behavior modification is utilized. First, the target person may acquire responses that are relatively or completely new to him by observing the model exhibit such responses. Second, the target person may learn to strengthen or weaken inhibitory responses that already are a learned part of his own behavior. If the model exhibits such an inhibited response without receiving punishment and instead receives reward, this presumably may serve to weaken the observer's inhibitory tendencies; likewise, if the target person tends to express a non-useful response, the inhibition of it could be strengthened by observing the model receiving unfavorable consequences from making a similar response. Third, modeling can sometimes simply serve as a cue to elicit previously learned but now forgotten (but not inhibited) responses which the observer is already capable of making.

Much of the research on social imitation has been carried out with children, juvenile delinquents, and adults in psychotherapy-type situations. There would seem to be no reason why such methods might not be usefully employed with MWs in the work situation. It would be incumbent, of course, upon researchers or organizations to investigate the various parameters of the situation that would result in effective modeling -- i.e., the type and position of the individual(s) who serve as models, the specific context in which the modeling takes place, the nature of the immediately prior events, the nature of the responses to be modeled, and so forth.

C. Expectancy Theory

In using the term expectancy theory we are talking about the general motivational theory developed and elaborated by Atkinson, Peak, Vroom, and Porter & Lawler, among others. Basically, this view of motivation -- also sometimes called a path-goal view of motivation -- states that the effort a person expends to perform some task is a joint function of the value the individual attaches to the rewards obtainable in the situation and the expectation (or perceived probability) that he holds concerning whether expending a certain amount of energy will result in the reward(s) actually being obtained. Holding ability constant, the knowledge of these two variables should enable one to predict the level of performance of an individual. More importantly for our purposes here, this approach specifies two key factors that must be influenced if effort is to be increased: (1) the value the individual puts on certain rewards; and (2) his expectations concerning whether he can obtain them by effort.

In considering how this approach might apply to the MW, it would seem to be critical to know what kinds of rewards the MW desires and to attempt to generate increased desire for some of the rewards (such as a sense of achievement, or friendship) that are potentially possible in the situation. It is probably a common occurrence for the MW to be treated by the organization and supervisors as if he put roughly the same value on various rewards that a typical non-MW member of the work force does. Due to the fact that a MW is a MW, and therefore is likely to have had rather different previous life and work experiences from the average worker, this assumption concerning his reward values is probably in error. At any rate, a first step is to attempt to find out what the values are. A second step might be to provide MWs with information that would serve to increase some of the values.

The other critical factor that needs attention from the organization, given this conception of motivation. is the set of expectations or beliefs that the MW holds concerning whether his actions will in any way affect his chances of obtaining desired rewards. Here, again, his past experiences are likely to have "trained" him to be quite cynical (i.e., to hold low expectations) about whether he can have much impact on obtaining rewards from the organization (including supervisors and peer group members). Thus, a major reason for an initial low motivation level would be his extremely low perceived effort-reward probabilities. Since actions, indeed, "speak" louder than words in changing these perceived probabilities, we return to questions of operant conditioning and reward contingencies. Shaping, through differential reinforcement, becomes extremely important in altering the individual's conception of whether effort on his part will have any effect on obtaining rewards. Of course, provision of monetary or other tangible rewards can be accompanied by "words" that attempt to stress the connection between the two (effort and rewards). Verbal statements and explanations can serve mutually to reinforce other reward action.

A relatively large number of studies (Georgopoulos, Mahoney & Jones, 1957; Galbraith & Cummings, 1967; Lawler & Porter, 1967; Porter & Lawler, 1968; Hackman & Porter, 1969; etc.) have demonstrated the utility of this conceptualization of motivation for making predictions of performance in the work situation. Given this pattern of findings, there would seem to be solid empirical support for attempting to develop some action guidelines for motivating MWs that would be consistent with the theory.

IV. Conclusions

This section will be divided into three parts -- Propositions, Organization Policy Proposals, and Research Proposals. The contents of these three parts follow directly from the ideas discussed in the earlier parts of this paper.

A. Propositions

   1. MWs potentially can be motivated by rewards coming from several distinct sources in the work situation: the formal organization, the supervisor, the work group, and from the dindividual himself.

   2. Rewards may be differentially effective with respect to the two aspects of an individual's work marginality -- i.e., his attendance and his performance.

     a. Rewards presumed to affect primarily attendance: wages (base rate), fringe benefits, friendship.

     b. Rewards presumed to affect primarily performance: wages (incentive pay), recognition (including praise), completion experiences, achievement experiences.

     c. Rewards presumed to affect both attendance and performance: status, energy expenditure experiences, skill acquisition opportunities, personal growth opportunities.

   3. Some rewards are probably initially more desirable than others to the MW: wages, recognition, friendship.

   4. Some rewards are initially (in terms of the development of the MW's work experience) more precise and explicit than other rewards: wages, fringe benefits, recognition.

   5. Some rewards can be given early and often to the MW and made directly contingent upon the MW meeting certain prescribed standards of attendance and/or performance behavior. (These

rewards would presumably be of most use in any early
shaping of this behavior): wages, recognition, completion
experiences, energy expenditure.

6. The MW's initial work behavior -- both attendance and performance --
will likely be below organizationally desired standards.

7. If the MW is to remain in the work situation (i.e., not
voluntarily leave), he will need some early reward
experiences.

8. The schedule by which the MW is rewarded, especially at early
stages on the job, may have to be modified considerably from
the ordinary reward schedules applicable to other (non-MW)
employees.

9. The MW is likely to be highly observant of people and events
around him, and will be highly sensitive to the slightest cues
concerning the impact of his own behavior on others.

10. The MW is likely to enter the work situation with the
expectation that he will not be treated fairly in relation
to other employees, particularly if he is a minority group
member.

11. There may be some individuals in the work situation who can
serve as effective models of work behavior for the MW to emulate.

12. The MW is likely to enter the work situation with a different
pattern of reward values than many of the non-MWs in the work
force, and many of these values (i.e., strength of desires for
rewards) are likely to be quite low.

<u>13</u>. The MW is likely to enter the work situation with very
weak beliefs that effort on his part will lead to positive
experiences or rewards that he does value.

B. Organization Policy Proposals

<u>1</u>. Make an explicit canvass of the rewards it (the organization)
has available to utilize in motivating the MW, keeping in
mind that rewards can come from several different sources.

<u>2</u>. Consider explicitly that attendance and on-the-job performance
are not necessarily highly co-varied, and that different rewards
may need to be employed for these two different aspects of
behavior.

<u>3</u>. Concentrate on developing methods for reinforcing successive
approximations to ultimately desired performance.

<u>4</u>. Experiment with different types of reward schedules to
determine if one or more of them seem to be especially
effective with MWs.

<u>5</u>. Try to develop an increased awareness on the part of the MW
of the reward possibilities in the work situation, and of the
connection between his efforts and the attainment of the
rewards. (Concurrently, be prepared for considerable
attitudinal resistance with regard to the latter type of
belief.)

<u>6</u>. Provide some socially powerful "models" who can help exemplify
the type of work behavior that is organizationally desired.
In choosing such models, consideration must be given to the
degree to which the MWs will be able to identify with the

model, the circumstances under which observation of
the model will take place, and so forth.

7. Give supervisors and others who will work directly with
MWs some basic training and understanding of the principles
of operant conditioning, behavior modeling, and motivational
theory.

C. Research Proposals

1. Investigate the values that MWs attach to rewards, compared
to values obtained from samples of non-MWs.

2. Investigate methods of using differential reinforcement and
successive approximation reinforcement to "shape" early MW
behavior in the job situation.

3. Investigate the impact on behavior of various schedules of
reward reinforcement, including both simple schedules and
combined schedules.

4. Experiment with the use of different types of models, and
different types of conditions of using models, in terms of
affecting MW work behavior.

5. Investigate the utility of expectancy or path-goal theory
of motivation for predicting and modifying the work behavior
of MWs.

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13. ABSTRACT   This paper deals with the use of four groups of rewards (financial, interpersonal, intrinsic to work and developmental) for motivating individuals who have failed to demonstrate consistent work attendance or to meet organizationally defined standards of adequate performance. The paper emphasizes the importance of considering the sources of rewards and their method of administration, and considers the effects of these factors on attendance and performance.

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	ROLE	WT	ROLE	WT	ROLE	WT
Motivation, Rewards, Incentives, Fringe benefits Wages, Praise, Intrinsic rewards, Worker attendance, Worker performance, Disadvantaged persons, Marginal workers						